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000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

● 487 492 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims. [463] [563]

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

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415 313 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 369 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 369 632 [487] The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 369 441 467 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole commerce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible; they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

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I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

101 The Mongols, commanded by General Subudei, invaded the region of Huangchung in 1227 and invested the city of Hsining, which they conquered (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8a and *Annals* of Kansu 46: 20a).

In order to understand conditions in Huangchung at the time of the Mongol conquest it is necessary to take notice of the peculiar geographical conditions of the country, and to bear in mind the circumstances which had caused the presence in Huangchung in 1227 of the remnants of so many T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes, of many thousands of Uighurs and of many Shat'o tribes. The social organization of this heterogeneous population and the ways in which it behaved will explain the policy adopted by the Mongol dynasty, followed by the Ming dynasty (1368), continued during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) and even during more than ten years under the Republic (1911).

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

131 The Province of Kansu is divided geographically into three parts: West Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, separated from one another by the range of the Southern Mountains (Nan Shan) and the Yellow River, both running in a northeasterly direction. The Nan Shan range separates West Kansu from Huangchung, and the Yellow River separates Huangchung from East Kansu.

X 175 487 West Kansu, a long narrow strip, a corridor situated between the bases of the Nan Shan range and the Gobi desert, is of primary importance because through that country runs the old transcontinental silk trade road, already opened in the second century B.C.[1] and because

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. II. Their religious life, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1): 9, 1957 (hereafter referred to as Monguors II).

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I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

this road was the only one which secured communication between the Chinese capital and its western colonies. Until 1882 Turkistan was a part of Kansu Province. Military colonies had been established along this long corridor between 140 and 86 B.C. in order to protect the communications against the turbulent Turkish barbarians of the Gobi and the savage Tibetans. Passes running through the Nan Shan secured communications between West Kansu and Huangchung.

In A.D. 872 Kanchow, one of the oldest colonies situated in the corridor, became the seat of the Uighur Khanate.[2] Uighur princes ruled in Kanchow until 1028. At that time their realm was conquered by the Hsi-hsia. The Mongols occupied the country in 1227.[3]

East Kansu is separated from Huangchung on the west by the Yellow River, on the east it is bounded by

[2] James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouighours a l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, *Bibliothèque de L'institut des Hautes Études Chinoises* 10: 14, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1955. Uighurs (called Huei-hou, Hue-ho) of Hunnic origin belong to the group of the Tolos tribes (p. 1). Their empire in Mongolia, which lasted from 745 until 840, controlled the region from Manchuria to the Altai and the territory of the Karluk in the T'ien Shan; its capital (Karabalgason) was situated on the Orkhon River. At the time of the destruction of their empire at the hands of the Khirgiz, a group of Uighurs fled into the region situated between Ku Ch'a and Besbalik in Turkistan (p. 18). It offered its offices to the Chinese army (Kuei-yi-chun) of General Chang Yi-ch'ao, garrisoned in the prefecture of Sha Chou. It fought the Tibetans in combination with the Chinese (p. 13), and in 872 these Uighurs, allies of the Chinese, settled in Kanchow. Others settled in Shi Chou (Karakhadjo), and so the northern part of Turkistan had become an Uighur country (pp. 14, 15, 16). The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762-763. They were the educators of the Turco-Mongol peoples from the ninth to the thirteenth century (p. 6).

[3] Edw. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 5: 215, 1904. O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* 2: 493, 501, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

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FIRST DATA ABOUT BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

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The third fact is the foundation in 940 of the monastery of Dantig (Sha-ch'ung) situated southeast of Hsining, on the northern bank of the Yellow River. It was founded by dGeba rab-gsal, a lama of the Zin-dpon hermitage, who had been ordained by three lamas who had fled from Tibet on account of the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa, and had arrived in Hsining, via Khotan, and the country of the Hor (Uighurs). At that time in the region of Dantig there already existed great hermitages. The three learned men of Tibet were buried in a temple at Hsining. In sPari (the region between the Tatung River and the Nan Shan to P'ing Fan), there exists a stone pillar with the names of the three men chiseled on it. Later six more celebrated lamas fled from Tibet to Hsining. Probably the building of these hermitages happened during the span of time between the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Sron-btsan sgam-po who died in 650 and its persecution in 841 and especially during the years 756 until 842, when the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the entire Huangchung and East Kansu and appointed his officials. Lamas must have followed the invading T'u-fan tribes and built the hermitages and the temple in Hsining.[20] However, we have to take stock of the very judicious remark of Professor Tucci that at that time Buddhism was spread by single lama hermits and not by groups of organized monks as was the case after the reform of Tsung Khapa, born in 1354.

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HUANGCHUNG DURING THE SUNG PERIOD, 960–1280

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The Sung dynasty succeeded the fateful Five Dynasties in 960. However, it could not interfere effectively with Huangchung before 1086. Its action was limited to granting titles to Tibetan chieftains. During one and one-half centuries (875–1036) Huangchung was a no-man's-land inhabited by depleted predatory tribes each of them obeying a chieftain and having troubles among themselves (*Annals* of Hsining 30: 1, 2). Several inroads were made by them on the frontiers. They used to lie athwart the trade roads, pillaging traders and ambassadors coming to court with wares and tribute, making them prisoners and selling them and their wares and tribute.[21] Nobody could cross their country without taking his life in his hands.

M [487 484]

The waxing power of the turbulent Hsi Hsia and their inroads into East Kansu and persistent threats of invasions in Huangchung after 982 must have seriously intimidated the scattered Tibetan tribes in Huangchung and East Kansu, facing extermination one after another,

[20] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (1): 63, 1949. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism* by Buston Rin-po-che, 2: 201, 1931. Monguors II: 12, 13.

[21] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 108.

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[21] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[22] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[23] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[21] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[22] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[23] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.